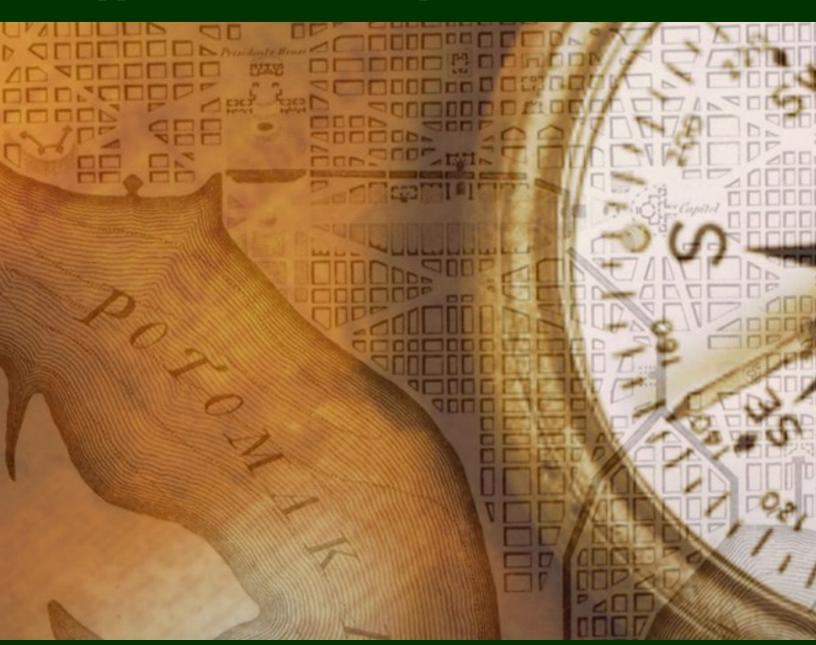
The Occasional Papers

Series No. 6

A Philip Lee Phillips Map Society Publication

From L'Enfant to the Senate Park Commission: Mapping the Nation's Capital from 1791 to 1902



Richard W. Stephenson

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Winter 2014

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Foreward

The Philip Lee Phillips Map Society of the Library of Congress is a national support group that has been established to stimulate interest in the Library's Geography and Map Division's cartographic and geographic holdings, and to further develop its collections through financial donations, gifts, and bequests. Members of the Phillips Society are kept informed of Division activities through its quarterly newsletter. The Society also funds the publication of this scholarly series of occasional papers that focus on the history of cartography.

The Phillips Society is named in honor of the first and longest tenured chief of the Geography and Map Division. From 1897 to 1924, Phillips developed the practices and procedures for acquiring, arranging, and cataloging the Library's cartographic materials that provided the basis for policies that are still followed by the Division.

A native-born Washingtonian, Phillips initiated the Division's strong interest in collecting and researching maps of the City of Washington. To celebrate the centennial of the City in 1900, the Senate issued the first published work related to this topic, which was compiled by Phillips. The 77-page booklet, titled *Maps and Views of Washington and the District of Columbia*, laid the foundation for all subsequent research on the mapping of the national Capital. Phillips later privately published a limited edition of halftone reproductions of rare images titled *The Beginnings of Washington as Described in Books, Maps, and Views*. An unpublished typescript, annotated volume listing maps and atlases of Washington, D. C. is housed in the Division's vault, a lasting testament to Phillip's long standing interest in the city of his birth.

Richard W. Stephenson continued this tradition. Another native Washingtonian, Dick was raised eight blocks from the Library of Congress where his father was chief of the Congressional Section of the Library of Congress' Loan Division and custodian of its station in the

Capitol building for many years. Dick was associated with the Library of Congress for some 45 years, the last five as the Geography and Map Division's first Specialist in Cartographic History.

Dick's strong interest in the city's historical cartography began with his 1961 seminal cartobibliography, *Civil War Maps; an Annotated List of Maps and Atlases in Map Collections of the Library of Congress,* which included an extensive list of Washington, D. C. maps that was expanded in a second edition in 1989.

In 1979, Dick's interest turned to Charles Pierre L'Enfant's grand plan of the City of Washington that has been housed in the Geography and Map Division since 1918, and is now considered one of the Library's top treasures. He and Associate Editor James Hardin of *The* Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress developed a symposium in print devoted to the topic of the early mapping of the City in the 1979 Summer issue, which opened with Dick's piece on "The Delineation of a Grand Plan." This was followed in 1981 by *The Cartography of* Northern Virginia: Facsimile Reproductions of Maps Dating from 1608 to 1915, which focuses on that part of northern Virginia that was originally part of the District of Columbia until 1846. With the approach of the National Capital Bicentennial in 1991, the National Geographic Society provided the Geography and Map Division with a \$348,250 grant to make the Library's Washington, D. C. map and atlas collection more accessible to researchers and at the same time preserve it for future generations. During this four-year grant, the map and atlas collection of Washington, D. C. was classified, cataloged, preserved, and microfilmed. The grant also sponsored a major Library exhibition. "City of Magnificent Distances," which was curated by Dick and Andrew J. Cosentino. Their published exhibit catalog lists more than 400 maps, atlases, and views.

During this period, Dick continued his efforts to bring L'Enfant and his work to the attention of the general public. Under his direction a computer-assisted reproduction of L'Enfant's 1791 manuscript plan for the city of Washington was produced by the U.S. Geological Survey for the Library of Congress and published by the Library in 1991 with support from the National Geographic Society, the U.S. Geological Survey, and the National Park Service. His classic book, "A Plan Whol[I]y New" Pierre Charles L'Enfant's Plan of the City of Washington (Library of Congress, 1993), was written to accompany this facsimile.

Dick continued to write and lecture on the mapping of Washington, D. C. until his passing in 2013. "L'Enfant's Washington – Two Centuries of Change," appeared in *The Capital Region: Day Trips in Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D.C.*, edited by Anthony R. De Souza (Rutgers University Press, 1992). "A City in Transition: Mapping the Nation's Capital from Civil War to the Creation of a Comprehensive Plan, 1861 -1902," was published in *The Portolan: Journal of the Washington Map Society* (Fall 2008). The essay presented here was Dick's keynote address at the 2012 Phillips Society's Annual Spring Conference, "Visualizing the Nation's Capital: Two Centuries of Mapping Washington, D C." His last article, "Where Oh Where Should the Capital Be? The Seat of Government in an Expanding Nation," was published in *White House History*, Journal of the White House Historical Association (Fall 2013).

I am grateful for the editorial contributions of Michael Klein, Anthony P. Mullan, and Ryan Moore, and for the layout and design by Mr. Moore.

Ralph E. Ehrenberg Chief, Geography and Map Division

Preface

In this overview employing maps, birds-eye views, and photographs, we will examine the initial plan of the nation's new capital and the first topographic map of the entire federal district, both drawn in the last decade of the eighteenth century; the haphazard growth and development of the city in the nineteenth; and finally, the introduction of a new plan of the city for the twentieth century.

This paper describes several maps not illustrated therein. Part of this paper is based on my article entitled "A City in Transition: Mapping the Nation's Capital from Civil War to the Creation of a Comprehensive Plan, 1861 – 1902," *The Portolan*, issue 72, fall 2008, 9-24, as well as on previous lectures. For additional information about the August 1791 L'Enfant plan, see my article entitled "The Delineation of a Grand Plan," *The Quarterly Journal of the Library of* Congress 36, no. 3, 1979, 207-224; and "*A Plan Whol[I]y New:*" *Pierre Charles L'Enfant's Plan of the City of Washington* (Washington, Library of Congress, 1993), 85.

Richard W. Stephenson

Library of Congress

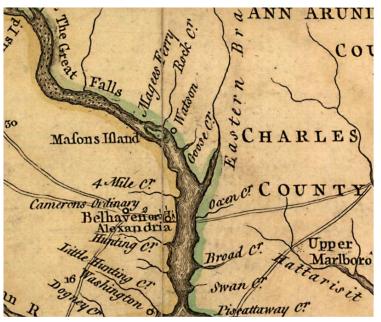
May 2012

L'Enfant's Grand Plan

It is easy for us to forget that in the final decade of the eighteenth century that the site on which the future capital of the new nation would occupy was by no means pre-ordained. In fact, it was a very divisive issue in Congress with much political and economic power riding on the outcome. It is little wonder then that it evoked strong state, regional, local, and personal jealousies. More than thirty places were put forth and debated in the First Congress and its predecessor body, the Continental Congress.

After years of debate, however, Congress resolved in 1790 to locate the capital along an eighty-mile stretch of the Potomac River, leaving the choice of the site to President George Washington. The site chosen by the President on January 24, 1791 was situated at the head of navigation on the Potomac River, 96 miles from its confluence with the Chesapeake Bay.

[Figure 1] The area is displayed in a detail from the principal map of the period: Joshua Fry



[Figure 1] Portion of Fry and Jefferson's map of Maryland and Virginia, 1790, depicting the site where Congress chose to locate the capital.

ARUNI and Peter Jefferson's map of Virginia and Maryland published in 1755.

Further navigation upstream on the Potomac by large vessels was barred due to the descent of the river from the Piedmont to the Atlantic coastal plain at Great and Little Falls.

Only a few miles upstream from Mount Vernon, was a long and well-settled area consisting of farms,

woodland, and two undeveloped or "paper" towns. One of the towns, Hamburg, was founded in 1768 by Jacob Funk at the mouth of Rock Creek, while the other, Carrollsburg, was established in 1770 by Charles Carroll of Duddington on the Potomac's Eastern Branch, today known as the Anacostia River. More important economically, however, were the thriving river ports of Georgetown, Maryland, authorized by the Maryland Assembly in 1751, and Alexandria, Virginia, chartered by the Virginia Assembly in 1748. Both Georgetown and Alexandria were major tobacco ports for their respective states.

The site within the federal territory chosen for laying out the city was a broad, triangular -shaped 6,111-acre parcel of farmland on the Maryland side of the Potomac River, rising from sea level in a series of four step-like terraces. The land was divided into nineteen parcels individually owned by local proprietors as shown on an 1893 map, drawn by the early Washington historian Dr. Joseph Toner.

Tobias Lear, the President's secretary, observed that "The ground, on an average, is about forty feet above water on the river. Although the whole, when taken together, appears to be nearly a level spot, yet it is found to consist of what may be called wavy land, and is sufficiently uneven to give many very extensive and beautiful views from various parts of it, as well as to effectually [i.e., effectively] answer every purpose of cleansing and draining the city." ¹

The President chose Andrew Ellicott, one of the country's leading surveyors and astronomers, to survey the federal territory, and Washington turned to Pierre Charles L'Enfant, a former comrade in arms and then a practicing New York City architect, to prepare the plan of the city. Nearly a year and a half earlier, L'Enfant offered to design a plan for a new capital, suggesting "that the plan should be drawn on such a scale as to leave room for that aggrandizement & embellishment which the increase of the wealth of the Nation will permit it to pursue at any

period however remote." ² Washington accepted L'Enfant's idea for a grand plan and never wavered from this concept. Ellicott and his assistant, the African-American astronomer Benjamin Banneker, arrived in Georgetown in February, 1791. As quickly as possible, they moved to Jones Point on the southern edge of Alexandria and began the survey of the boundaries of the one-hundred-square-mile federal district.

[Figure 2] Ellicott finished his survey in late 1792 and submitted it to Washington for review on January 1, 1793 and again on February 11. Washington returned the manuscript on both occasions to Ellicott with his suggestions for improvement. He thought, for example, that "it would be better that the outlines at least of the city and perhaps of Georgetown should be laid down in the plat of the territory." This and other suggestions made by the President were incorporated by Ellicott into his manuscript. The surveyor made a new map of the "Territory of



[Figure 2] From Ellicott's manuscript map of the Territory of Columbia, 1793.

Columbia," and along with his old manuscript, submitted them to Tobias Lear on June 25, 1793.

Ellicott's map, published
early in 1794, followed Jefferson's
advice, given more than two years
earlier, that it be placed "on a
square sheet to hang corner upwards...[so that] the meridian will
be vertical as [it] ought to be; the
streets of the city will be horizontal
and vertical, and near the center, the



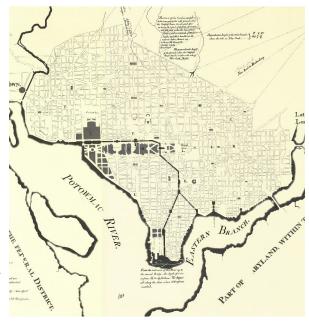
[Figure 3] Ellicott's map of the Territory of Columbia, 1794.

Potomac and Eastern branch will be nearly so...." ⁴
[Figure 3] A large part of the significance of Ellicott's topographic plan rests its influence, because "for almost seventy years it remained the only official printed map of the entire district, and all subsequent topographic maps were based on it." ⁵

L'Enfant arrived in Georgetown in March, 1791, to examine the terrain and draw his plan for the future city. After an initial ride through the area,

the enthusiastic planner informed Secretary of State Jefferson on March 11 that "I passed on many spots which appeared to me raly [sic] beautiful and which seem to dispute with each other who command[s]." ⁶

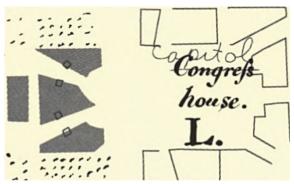
[Figure 4] Five months later, L'Enfant traveled to Philadelphia and submitted a detailed report and a plan of the city to the President. The plan remained in Washington's possession until he transferred it to the City Commissioners in 1796 with a cover letter, which reads "This plan you shall receive by the first safe hand who may be going to the Federal City – By it you may discover (tho' almost obliterated) the directions given to the Engraver, by Mr. Jefferson, with a pencil, what parts to omit." This much worn



[Figure 4] L'Enfant's manuscript plan of Washington, 1791.

and faded plan, drawn on paper turned dark from having been varnished sometime in the distant past, was transferred to the Library of Congress in 1918 by the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds. It is the cornerstone of the Library's superb Washington, D.C., map collection.

[Figure 5] Dissatisfied with L'Enfant's terminology describing the building to be occupied by Congress, Jefferson crossed out "Congress house" and added the word "Capitol," which today is used to identify the structure, as well as the city housing the Nation's legislative seat. Though not indicated on the map, Jefferson also recommended that the Eastern Branch of the Potomac be renamed the Anacostia, in accordance with its original Native American appellation.



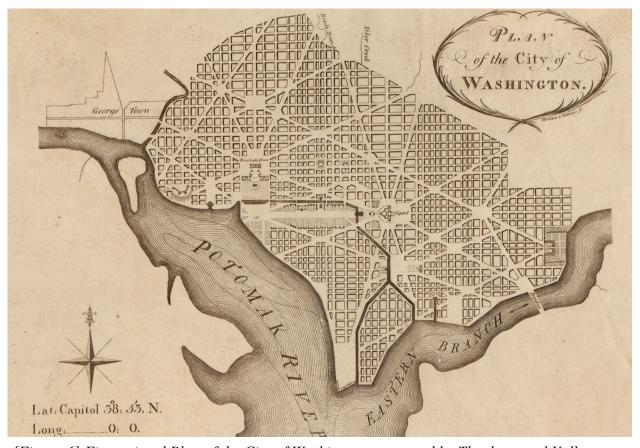
[Figure 5] One of Jefferson's pencil corrections of L'Enfant's plan.

Washington, pleased with the manuscript, directed L'Enfant to complete his plan and prepare it for publication. The President was anxious to have the map circulated before the first sale of lots in the new city was held on October 17, 1791. He was keenly disappointed, therefore, when he learned that L'Enfant had failed to have the map

ready for display at the sale. Washington noted that without a map "none who knew what they were about would be induced to buy, to borrow an old adage, 'A Pig in a Poke'." When it became likely that L'Enfant was not going to promptly finish the plan as directed, the President turned to Andrew Ellicott to complete the undertaking. Ellicott, with the assistance of his brother, Benjamin, who had worked closely with L'Enfant, completed the redrawing that incorporated the editorial corrections suggested by Jefferson. The finished drawing was then placed in the hands of James Thackara and John Vallance to engrave and print it. Before commencing on

the large engraving, the Philadelphia-based duo prepared a small version for publication as the frontispiece in the March 1792 issue of *The Universal Asylum, and Columbia Magazine*.

[Figure 6]



[Figure 6] First printed Plan of the City of Washington, engraved by Thackara and Vallance.

Meanwhile, the President became concerned that the Philadelphia engravers may not have the full-sized map ready for the second sale of lots scheduled for October. Another copy of the L'Enfant-Ellicott map was drawn and secretly given to the Boston engraver Samuel Hill. His completed engraving plate arrived in Philadelphia on July 20, and was given to a Mr. Scott (either Robert or Joseph T.) to print 4,000 copies. Prints of the Hill engraving were in circulation at the second sale of lots in the City of Washington. [Figure 7]

As the President feared, copies of the Thackara and Vallance engraving arrived too late

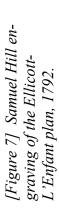
for use in the second sale. It was considered by many, however, to be more elegant in appearance and soon was accepted as the "official" published version of the plan. Not only was the Philadelphia plate better engraved, it had been produced on a larger sheet of copper compared with the Boston plate. More significantly, it included the depths of water in the shipping channel and along the shore lines of the Potomac River and Eastern Branch, information viewed as especially important by Washington, Jefferson, and other boosters for attracting merchant investors to the new city. The hydrographic data had been received too late for inclusion in the Boston plate. [Figure 8]

The first published map actually based on field surveys was Robert King's *A Map of the City of Washington in the District of Columbia...* [Figure 9] Drawn by King, the former surveyor of the city, it was engraved locally by Conrad Schwartz and distributed by William Cooper, who announced it for sale "at his music and book store [on] Pennsylvania Avenue." 9 Ralph Ehrenberg, Chief of the Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, noted in his 1979 article in the Library's *Quarterly Journal* that "it is one of the earliest maps engraved in the city of Washington, it represents the most accurate map of the city for this period, and it is associated with a landmark copyright decision concerning maps." ¹⁰ The latter refers to King's lawsuit against the map and book collector Peter Force who copied and published King's map in 1820 without permission. Although King had copyrighted the map on January 1, 1818, he failed to note this on the published map, thereby leading to the court's dismissal of the suit.



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[Figure 9] Robert King's Map of the city of Washington in the District of Columbia, published in 1818.

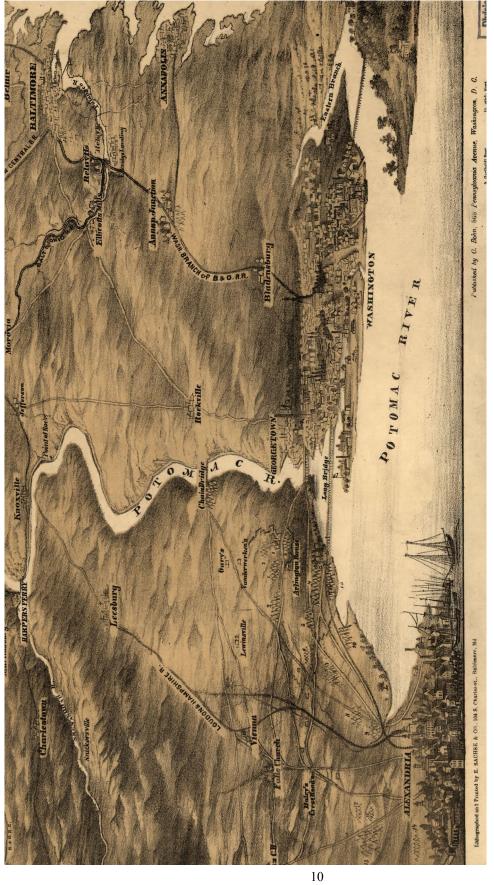




[Figure 8] Thackara and Vallance drawing of Wash-ington, D.C.



[Figure 10] On the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of L'Enfant's plan in 1991, the national treasure was stabilized and mended by library conservators, photographed and digitized by United States Geological Survey specialists, and then it was sealed in a specially-constructed case containing argon gas. In addition, full-size colored and black-and-white reproductions were published and sold by the Library of Congress. The black-and-white reproduction are ideal for studying the plan as conceived by L'Enfant, as well as the editorial corrections suggested by Jefferson. See [Figure 4].



[Figure 11] Bohn and Sachse's District of Columbia and the seat of war on the Potomac, 1861.

The Capital at War

The Civil War commenced with the bombardment of Fort Sumter, South Carolina on April 12 and 13, 1861, followed by its surrender to Confederate forces the next day. The outbreak of fighting found the city of Washington in a precarious position. Its geographical position on the banks of the Potomac originally thought by its boosters to be ideal for its centrality of location now placed the city in jeopardy. Not only was the city virtually undefended by troops or defensive positions, but also its buildings were within easy shelling distance from Virginia's Arlington Heights. Therefore, on the evening of May 23, as soon as sufficient troops had arrived to defend the city, Union regiments crossed the Potomac and occupied the strategic approaches to the city, including Arlington Heights and the important river port of Alexandria.

Fifteen army campsites are indicated on Casimir Bohn and Edward Sachse's contemporary birds-eye view, which depicts Alexandria, northern Virginia, Maryland, and Washington, D. C., looking northwestward from the Potomac River. *[Figure 11]*

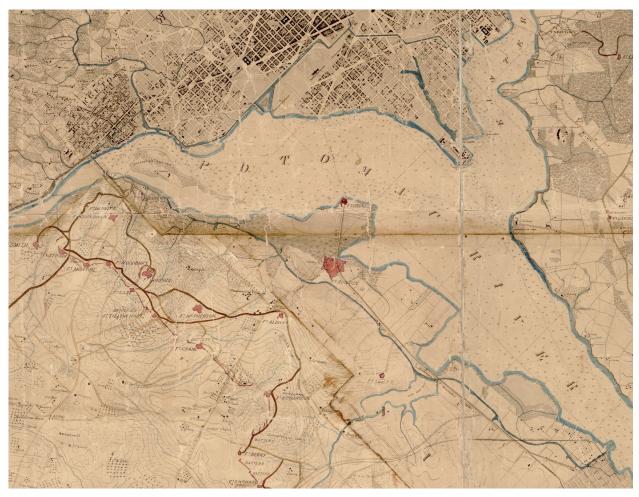
As the war began, Albert Boschke, a former employee of the United States Coast Survey, completed for publication his *Topographical Map of the District of Columbia*. Compiled from field surveys conducted by Boschke from 1856 to 1859, this landmark map is the first to show houses and public buildings throughout the entire District of Columbia. In the rural areas, land north of present-day Florida Avenue, he also delineated property lines, names of residents, and relief by contour lines.

Unfortunately for Boschke, just as the map was coming off the press, federal authorities swooped down and seized all proofs and copies that had been printed as well as the copper plates. The desperate need for an accurate topographic map of the District of Columbia and the fear of it falling into the hands of the enemy led to the Union Army's swift action in confiscat-

ing it for their own use. It would be years before Boschke and his publishing partners were compensated for their loss.

The appropriated map was quickly put to use by General John Barnard of the Corps of Engineers. He set about designing and constructing an impregnable interlocking series of forts and entrenchments to defend the city. By the beginning of 1862, some 48 earthworks of varying sizes, still largely isolated from one another, had been constructed around the perimeter of the city. ¹¹ Later the defenses that encircled the city were enlarged to include 68 enclosed forts and batteries linked together by 32 miles of military roads supplemented by existing roads and streets. ¹²

Using Boschke's map as a base, Barnard's team of mapmakers added, by hand, cultural data pertaining to northern Virginia, a new map title, forts, batteries, and rifle pits, as well as the military roads built to link them. Barnard's large wall map was made for official use, and as such, was never published. Much of the information, however, was incorporated into a smaller, more manageable map issued in 1865 by the Engineer Bureau, War Department. *[Figure 12]*



[Figure 12] Portion of Barnard's map of the defenses of Washington, 1865. A system of forts is illustrated in red.

Disease and Unsanitary Conditions

The city's infrastructure was severely taxed during the war by the influx of people, both civilian and military. From a modest town of about 60,000, Washington grew to a population of more than 200,000. The city's already poor sanitation system became an abysmal failure. Especially dangerous were conditions in the low-lying area between Capitol Hill and the White House — the governmental and commercial center of the city. Crossing the area was the Washington Canal, long supported by the city's founders for its potential beauty and commercial value, but now little more than an open sewer filled with animal and human waste. The situation was further aggravated at the western end of the Mall by the Army's erection of cattle pens and a slaughterhouse near the unfinished Washington Monument and corrals for some 30,000 mules and horses in nearby Foggy Bottom west of the White House. ¹³

The deplorable conditions caused an outcry. Fifty-five businesses and citizens of the City, including 13 medical doctors, petitioned the United States Senate on March 23, 1864, for funds for dredging the Washington canal "so much needed as a sanitary measure" and suggesting that the sediment removed from the canal be used to create "new land on the swamp or marsh in the rear of the President's mansion." ¹⁴ The petitioners expressed their confidence that "The filling up of what is now a dangerous miasmatic swamp, which in its present condition, is bare two-thirds of the time, and the noxious exhalations from which, during the summer and early autumn months, has made the presidential mansion so notoriously unhealthy as a place of residence, and which to a very great extent, will remedy this evil." ¹⁵

By war's end, sanitary conditions had not improved in the environs of the canal, resulting in a growing concern for the health of the President and his family. This, coupled with belief that the aging White House was "unfit for occupation," led to some support in Congress for

building a new presidential mansion on a more salubrious site. In July 1866, therefore, the Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds requested the Secretary of War to investigate several tracts of land for a "suitable site for a public park and presidential mansion." ¹⁶ The accomplished army engineer, Brigadier General Nathaniel Michler, was detailed to carry out the directions of the Committee.

In conducting his survey, Michler became enthralled by the still largely unspoiled, rugged topography of Rock Creek and its environs. In his report to the Senate Committee, he recommended "the construction of the national park as soon as practicable," noting that "It is a grand and beautiful undertaking, and should be prosecuted with the greatest energy." ¹⁷ Michler accompanied his report to the Committee with two preliminary maps, which, he noted, "will show more plainly than words can express the required information and the respective advantages of the different sections." ¹⁸

Michler's first map, oriented with north toward the upper left and covering portions of N. E. and N. W. Washington, depicts three of the four potential sites for a new presidential mansion. [Figure 13] One of the estates under consideration was "Harewood," the country home of philanthropist and southern sympathizer William Corcoran. Later the estate was purchased and used to expand the grounds of the Soldiers' Home. His second map is the first detailed topographic survey of the Rock Creek valley. "Michler said, "[It]] will show the topographical features of the country, and its accessibility to both Washington and Georgetown." [Figure 14]

Delighted with Michler's work, Senator Benjamin Brown, Chairman of the Senate

Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, sponsored a bill to establish a park encompassing

Rock Creek. ¹⁹ Two decades were to pass, however, before Congress acted.

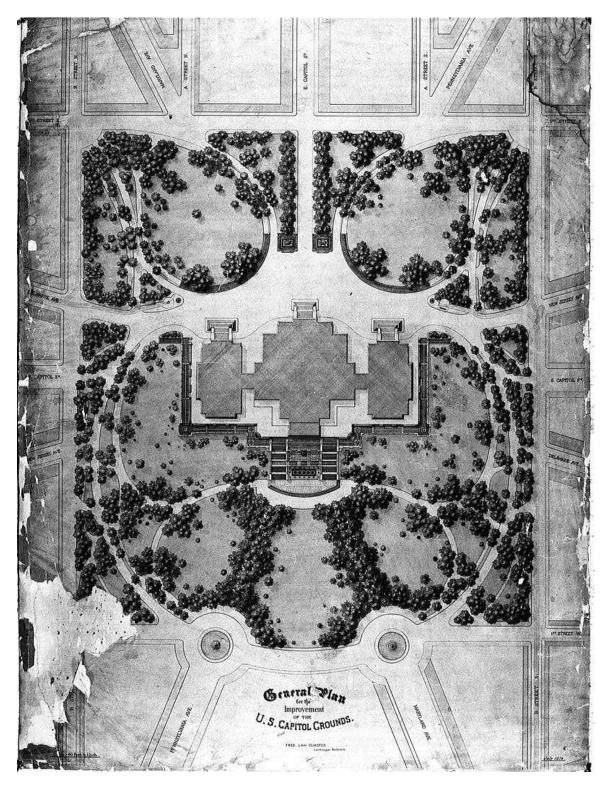


[Figure 13] Sheet 1 of Michler's topographical sketch of Washington, D.C. and in the lower corner [Figure 14] Sheet 2 of Michler's sketch.

[Figure 15] Twining's Reclamation Plan, 1879.

Congressional interest in selecting a site and building a new presidential mansion also waned as the necessity for relocating the structure abated in the 1870s due to significant improvements in the city's sewer system. The low, marshy land west and south of the Washington Monument had been considered for many years a significant health hazard, eyesore and an impediment to river navigation. Known as the Potomac Flats, it consisted of sediments washed down from upstream, run-off deposits from Washington streets and building sites, and raw sewerage flowing into the Potomac from the B Street sewer that had replaced the old Washington Canal. The Board of Survey reported that "The reclamation of this flat is an absolute necessity for the preservation of the health of the city, and must be included in any plan ... for the improvement of the water-front of Washington."

Various plans to deepen the Potomac channel, improve the Washington Harbor, and reclaim the Potomac Flats were put forth by Army engineers. One example is Major William J. Twining's reclamation plan designed to illustrate proposals put forth in the 1879 *Annual Report of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia*. Despite the Commissioners urging, Congress did not act until a natural disaster caught their attention. *[Figure 15]* In 1881, a serious flood that inundated much of the low-lying portions of the city including the Mall and parts of Pennsylvania Avenue struck the city. The following year, Congress appropriated \$400,000 to begin the reclamation project, a project that was to consume most of the final two decades of the nine-teenth century and create over 600 acres of new land.



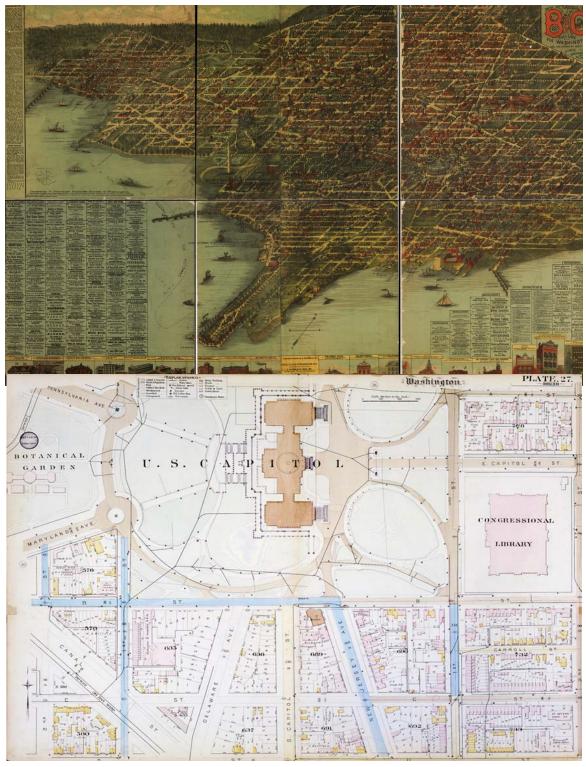
[Figure 16] Olmsted's "General Plan for the Improvement of the U.S. Capitol Grounds." Courtesy of the Architect of the Capitol.

Improving the Capitol Grounds

With the completion of the dome of the Capitol building during the Civil War, attention in the next decade focused on the improvement of the surrounding grounds that in the past had been designed by several important architects, such as Robert Mills, who was famous for the Washington Monument and Thomas Ustick Walter, the fourth Architect of the Capitol. To begin, Congress expanded the grounds to 51-1/2 acres with the purchase in 1872-1873 of squares 687 on the north and 688 on the south. A detailed map of Washington by Bastert and Enthoffer, which they published in 1872, shows the layout of the Capitol Grounds just before they were redesigned. The expansion was followed in 1874, with the commissioning of America's leading landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., to prepare a comprehensive plan for improving the grounds. ²¹ [Figure 16]

Olmsted's "naturalistic" design, featuring tree-lined, curving walks and lanes along with his proposal for a western terrace, are depicted in his pen-and-ink and lightly colored drawing of the Capitol Grounds. His plan is reminiscent of Andrew Jackson Downing's romantic design for the Mall and adjacent public land made two decades earlier. Although Downing's design was never fully implemented and nothing is visible today on the ground except for a hint of it at the Ellipse south of the White House, Olmsted's plan was carried out and still may be appreciated today on the west side of the building. To the east, however, the grounds have been changed recently with the construction of the Capitol Visitor's Center.

Olmsted also skillfully designed the West Terrace to provide an architectural base that would visually balance the greatly expanded Capitol building." In addition, he correctly envisioned the terrace would serve as an esplanade from which to view the city to the West that unfortunately due to security considerations is no longer available to the public.



[Figure 17] Sache's lithograph of the capital and below [Figure 18] From Hopkins' survey of Washington, D.C.

Problems Persist

The city as it appeared in the 1880's was portrayed in a colored lithograph "Sketched from nature" by the Baltimore lithographer Adolph Sachse in 1883-1884. *[Figure 17]* John Reps notes in his *Washington in View* that this "immense... view reveals many details that no other provides, and allows one to examine the newly built up, fashionable neighborhoods along and beyond Massachusetts Avenue where construction was finally catching up with L'Enfant's vision of nearly a century earlier." ²²

Public buildings, commercial structures, private dwellings, streets, and parks in Washington and Georgetown are shown as if viewed from a position high above the Potomac River. Sachse's perspective map depicts the western portion of the Mall as redesigned by Andrew Jackson Downing, although the Washington Monument still lacks its capstone that was not put into place until December 6, 1884, and water still appears to the north and west of the Monument.

In 1887, Griffith Hopkins of Philadelphia, one of the nineteenth century's most prolific publishers of county and city atlases, issued a landmark atlas or plat book of the City of Washington. It is the first published cadastral atlas that not only indicates property lines but also all commercial and public buildings and private dwellings within the city limits. Not only is the shape of each building indicated, but also color tints denote what the structure is made of. Pink, for example, signifies brick, yellow is wood, and brown is stone.

Typical of the plates in this atlas is one showing the environs of the Capitol building.

The grounds display the "naturalistic" pattern as proposed by Olmsted in 1874. [Figure 18]

To the west of the Capitol is the Botanic Gardens, which was initially built to house the exotic plants brought back from the Pacific Basin in 1842 by the United States Exploring Expedition

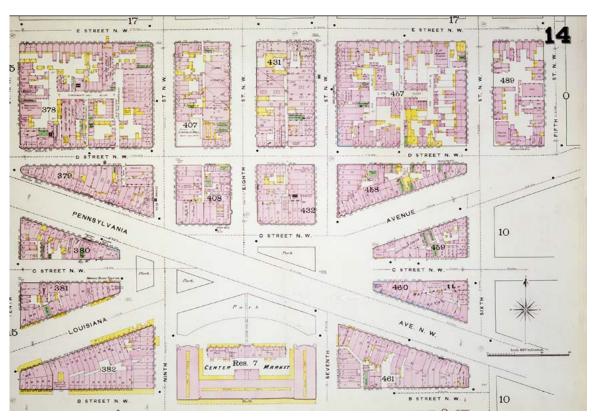
under command of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes.

In 1888, one year after the publication of Hopkins' plat book, the Sanborn Map Company of New York City (later Pelham, N. Y.) issued the first of several editions of its *Insurance Maps of Washington, D. C.* ²³ Plate 14 of 84 shows part of the city's principal commercial district from Fifth to Tenth streets, N. W. and from B to E streets, N. W. The Center Market situated on public reservation no. 7, shown at the bottom of the map, was the largest building in the area. [Figure 19] The first market on this site opened to the public in 1801, replacing a small market that had existed on President's Square near 17th and Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W. Center Market was situated south of Pennsylvania Avenue on low, marshy ground adjacent to Tiber Creek. ²⁴ The creek became Washington Canal and then B Street by the time the Sanborn Company made its map. B Street is now named Constitution Avenue. Center Market's location led many to refer to it as "Marsh Market" or the contraction, "Mash Market." ²⁵

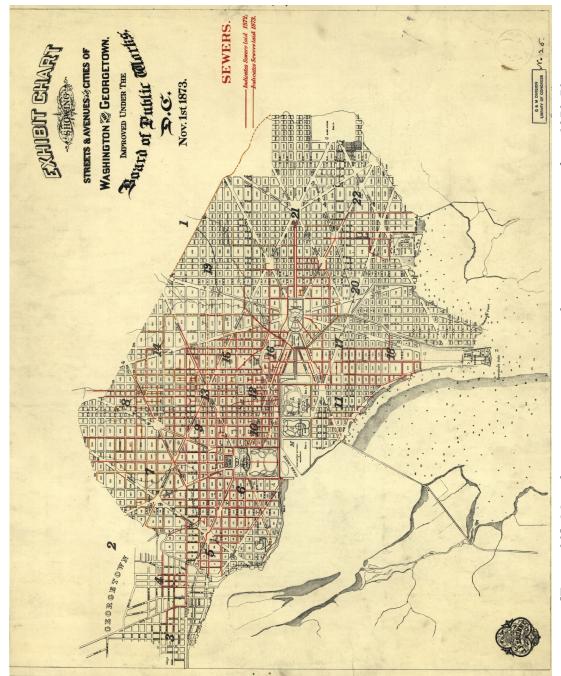
Center Market's ramshackle wooden buildings were destroyed by fire in 1870 and replaced in 1872 by this imposing neo-gothic-style brick structure designed by architect Adolph Cluss. The massive building contained spaces for 1,000 retail dealers. Located in the center of town and flanked on the east by Seventh Street, N. W., a major road that connected the farms north of the city with the city's wharves, it remained Washington's principal meat and produce market until it was removed in 1931 to build the National Archives. It is interesting to note that during construction of the Archives "more than 8,500 concrete piles were driven into the unstable soil to support the building's weight. Large pumps" are still required to "keep the foundations from flooding with" water from Tiber Creek. ²⁶

The social and physical decline of the city following the Civil War was widely discussed by concerned citizens, city government officials, the press, and in the halls of Congress.

Poverty and prostitution had grown considerably. Clean, safe drinking water was not available in large parts of the city. The sewer system was grossly inadequate. Unsanitary conditions abounded in every quarter of the capital. Movement within the city was severely hampered by streets and avenues that were largely unpaved.



[Figure 19] Sanborn insurance map, 1888.



[Figure 20] Map showing improvements made to street pavements from 1872-73.

Improvements in the Northwest

With creation of a territorial government in 1871, major changes began to occur in the city's infrastructure. Governor of the city during these brief and turbulent years was local banker Henry D. Cooke, the brother of the Civil War financier Jay Cooke. Power, however, actually rested in the hands of Alexander "Boss" Shepherd, the dynamic head of the Board of Public Works. In three years, Shepherd produced vast improvements in the physical structure of the city, but at a huge expense and "with a ruthless hand," as Charles Moore, Clerk of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia wrote in 1902. "Grades were changed, streets cut down and hastily paved with wood; Congress was outwitted and defied; judges were lured on excursions from the city in order to prevent them from restraining the demolition of unsightly structures; money was poured out like a Potomac flood; taxes were doubled, and an enormous debt was piled up: but," Moore concluded, "after all has been said, the fact remains that the result was amply worth the cost." ²⁷ Because of the enormous expense incurred by the Board of Public Works, the city, by 1874, was bankrupt and the territorial government collapsed. Boss Shepherd's prestige and personal fortune now gone, he left the city for Mexico never to return.

A series of maps were issued in 1873 to illustrate the accomplishments of the Board of Public Works. ²⁸ These included maps of improvements made to water mains, pavements, sewers, and gas mains. The map showing "Pavements" depicts those surfaced with wood in yellow, with concrete in red, and with stone in blue. *[Figure 20]* Clearly the map reveals that the Board of Public Works had focused its attention on paving the more affluent Northwest at the expense of the three remaining quadrants. With the exception of the principal thoroughfares, even Capitol Hill had been virtually ignored by the Board in its race to surface the streets of affluent Northwest Washington.

The District Expands

With the growth of the city and the springing-up of new subdivisions outside the planned city, officials became alarmed that unless action was taken quickly it would be impossible to extend L'Enfant's streets and avenues beyond Boundary Street (i.e., Florida Avenue today) into Washington County. To do this, an accurate map of the District of Columbia was urgently needed. Congress acquiesced and appropriated \$5,000 in 1881 "for surveys of the District of Columbia, with reference to the future extension of various avenues to the District line."

The newly funded survey was undertaken for the District Commissioners by the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey. With appropriations eventually totaling \$65,600, topographers labored from 1881 to 1891 to complete the field surveys needed for the new map. The survey data was incorporated into 58 engraved sheets covering the 48 square miles of the District of Columbia beyond the cities of Washington and Georgetown.

[Figure 21] Sheet 49
of the District survey covered
the town of Anacostia, the
first suburb built outside of the
limits of the capital. It was
designed primarily for workers at the Navy Yard who
could commute by way of the
Eleventh Street Bridge labeled
"Anacostia Bridge."



[Figure 21] U.S. Geodetic Survey of the town of Anacostia.

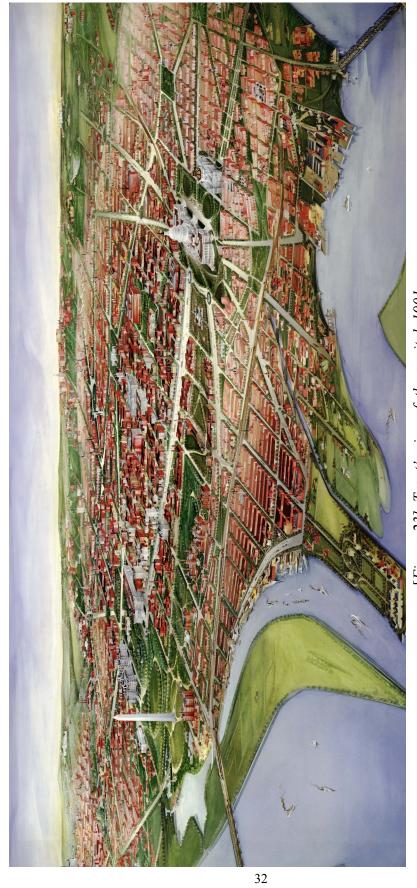
The United States Geological Survey, created by Act of Congress on March 3, 1879 to identify and classify the nation's natural resources, also contributed to the mapping of the region by the publication in June 1891, of the *Washington Sheet*. The newly completed topographic map was immediately employed as the base for producing the first geological map of the capital region. The publication of the "Preliminary Edition" was timed to coincide with the Fifth International Congress of Geologists, which met at Columbian University (now George Washington University) from August 26 to September 4, 1891. The new map served to demonstrate the patterns and tints then being developed at the Survey for depicting geologic information.

An interesting proposal for both permanent and temporary use of the land reclaimed from the Potomac is depicted in this *Birdseye View of the National Capital*.... [Figure 22] It was produced in 1888 by local boosters in an unsuccessful attempt to have the capital city chosen as the site for the exposition to be held on the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. A perspective drawing, it presents the city as if viewed from a point above the Potomac River looking toward the Northeast. The recently completed Washington Monument is in the center of the view, with the White House to the left and the Capitol to the right.

Dominating the scene in the foreground is the newly reclaimed land from the Potomac with the footprints of the proposed exposition buildings. Nothing, however, was to come of this plan. Congress chose Chicago as the site of the Columbian Exposition. The immense success of the Columbian Exhibition and its "White City" led to the "City Beautiful" movement that subsequently swept the country, including the nation's capital.



[Figure 22] Johnson's depiction of the Capital, 1888.



[Figure 23] Trout's view of the capital, 1901.

The McMillan Plan of 1901

The impending celebration in December, 1900 honoring the 100th anniversary of the move of the federal government from Philadelphia to Washington, D.C. focused public attention on improving the long neglected Mall and the recently reclaimed land lying to its west and south. To visualize the nation's capital as it existed at the turn of the century, one may turn to an extraordinary bird's-eye view that was painted in 1901 by the artist, engraver, and lithographer John L. Trout. [Figure 23] Beautifully executed in opaque watercolors, the unique painting shows the city in minute detail. ³⁰ Especially notable are the newly created Washington Channel adjacent to Fort McNair; the Tidal Basin, and some of the reclaimed lands of Potomac Park; the western Mall featuring Andrew Jackson Downing's 1851 romantic landscape design, as well as the eastern Mall severed at Sixth Street by the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad Station, its train shed and tracks; and Capitol Hill, showing the Library of Congress completed in 1897.

City's centennial celebrations aroused interest among citizens, public officials, professional architects, and the news media on ways and means to improve the beauty of the city's architecture and open spaces. Although several plans were put forth to improve the sad appearance of the Mall and to develop the newly created lands adjacent to the Washington Monument, none were considered acceptable by Congress or the public at large. Congressional displeasure with these piecemeal plans led the Senate Committee of the District of Columbia, under the leadership of Senator James McMillan, to establish a commission on March 19, 1901 to prepare "a comprehensive plan for the development of the entire park system" of the nation's capital. ³¹ The committee report explained that "questions have arisen as to the location of public buildings, of preserving spaces for parks in the portions of the District beyond the limits of the city

of Washington, of connecting and developing existing parks by attractive drives, and of providing for the recreation and health of a constantly growing population; and, in the absence of a well-considered plan, the solution of these grave problems has either been postponed or else has resulted in compromises that have marred the beauty and dignity of the national capital." ³²

After conferring with the American Institute of Architects, Senator McMillan appointed to the commission four leading American experts: architect Daniel H. Burnham (commission chairman); architect Charles F. McKim; sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens; and landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. Burnham, McKim, Saint-Gaudens, and Olmsted, Sr., had worked together in 1892-93 to create Chicago's widely acclaimed Columbian Exposition. The senior Olmsted, now too ill to serve, was succeeded by his son who had made a name for himself for his work on the Metropolitan Park System in Boston.

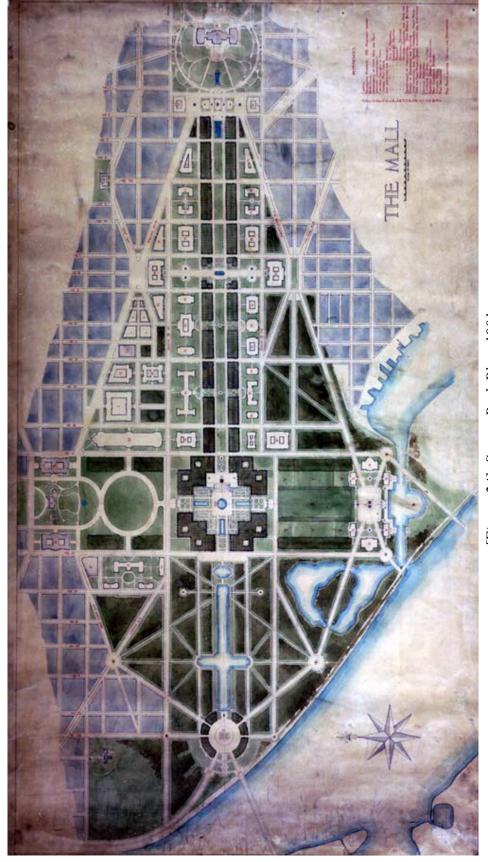
Working in close harmony, this distinguished group of experts produced in nine months a plan that would profoundly influence and reshape the development of the city for years to come. Furthermore, "The plan's bold scale and the public idealism it embodied," urban historian Jon A. Peterson noted, "inspired people in other cities to undertake similar actions. Within less than a decade an entirely novel field of public endeavor known as city planning had taken root." ³³

The commissioners were aware that both Congressional and local officials were paying little attention to the L'Enfant plan that more or less had guided the city for a hundred years. They harshly criticized, for example, the placement of the new Library of Congress building opened only four years earlier, noting that its location "partly in Pennsylvania avenue is a perpetual mutilation of L'Enfant's plan, and inflicts incalculable injury to the Capitol, which the Library in part conceals." ³⁴ They also pointed out that the "carefully planned vistas of the

White House" had been destroyed by construction of the State, War, and Navy building and the extension of the Treasury building. ³⁵ "Indeed the more the Commission studied the first plans of the Federal City," they remarked, "the more they became convinced that the greatest service they could perform would be done by carrying to a legitimate conclusion the comprehensive, intelligent, and yet simple and -straightforward scheme devised by L'Enfant under the direction of Washington and Jefferson." ³⁶ As the commission's plans unfolded, however, they did not slavishly follow that of L'Enfant but rather reinterpreted and revised his plan based on present realities, needs, and opportunities. "Had L'Enfant seen and read the plan," observed urban historian Frederick Gutheim, "he would hardly have recognized his own contributions." ³⁷

The commission's plan impacted especially the central core of the city. [Figure 24]

The Supreme Court building was constructed to the east of the Capitol. ³⁸ The Senate and House office buildings were built to the north and south of the Capitol grounds. ³⁹ Union Square was erected at the foot of Capitol Hill, containing a memorial to President Ulysses S. Grant. ⁴⁰ Pennsylvania Railroad Station was removed from the Mall and was replaced by Union Station that was situated "north of Massachusetts avenue, the center of the building being on the axis of Delaware avenue, about a quarter of a mile from the Capitol." ⁴¹ The axis of the Capitol and Washington Monument was defined "by an expanse of undulating green a mile and a half long and three hundred feet broad, walled on either side by elms, planted in formal procession four abreast. Bordering this green carpet, roads, park-like in character, stretch between Capitol and Monument..." ⁴² A memorial such as a Pantheon where the axis of the White House intersects Maryland Avenue (today, the site of the Jefferson Memorial) was constructed. ⁴³ A long canal or reflecting pool extending westward from the Washington Monument was created and "bordered by stretches of green walled with trees." ⁴⁴ At the western terminus of the canal, a

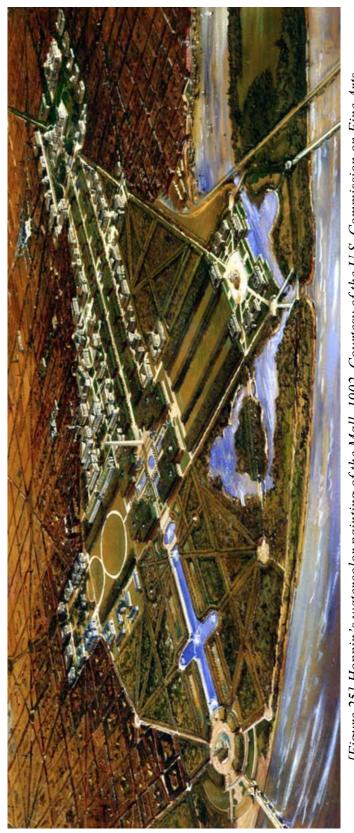


[Figure 24] Senate Park Plan, 1901.

rond point or circle that "becomes a gate of approach to the park system of the District of Columbia....[and] Crowning the *rond point*...should stand a memorial erected to the memory of that one man in our history as a nation who is worthy to be honored with George Washington - Abraham Lincoln." ⁴⁵ And, finally, municipal and semi-municipal buildings were placed in the area between Pennsylvania Avenue and the Mall (today this is the Federal Triangle). ⁴⁶

The Senate Park Commission's plans were introduced on January 15, 1902, with an elaborate display of 179 drawings, models, and photographs. ⁴⁷ Designed with great care by Charles McKim, the exhibition, the first in America on city planning, was held at the new Corcoran Gallery of Art. ⁴⁸ The exhibition was a great success, receiving wide acclamation in the newspapers and journals of the day and drawing large crowds, including President Theodore Roosevelt and his cabinet, government officials, senators, congressmen, city officials and curious citizens. At its official closing on February 25, the entire exhibition was moved to the Library of Congress for further public display.

Among the items displayed in this extraordinary exhibition was Francis L.V. Hoppin's superb rendering of the "future" city as proposed by the Senate Park Commission. ⁴⁹
[Figure 25] Hoppin's view, executed in opaque water colors, depicts the redesign of the central core of the city viewed from a point 4,000 feet above Arlington, Virginia. Hoppin's painting, for which he received \$250, shows the Commission's proposed treatments for the Mall, Capitol Hill, Union Station, Lafayette Park, and the reclaimed land beyond the Washington Monument. Nothing arguably shows the scope of the Commission's plan more effectively and attractively than Francis Hoppin's magnificent painting.



[Figure 25] Hoppin's watercolor painting of the Mall, 1902. Courtesy of the U.S. Commission on Fine Arts.

Conclusion

The centennial celebrations in Washington aroused interest among a wide audience on ways and means to improve the beauty of the city's architecture and open spaces. The success of the Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893 had enthralled the minds of many as to what was possible when monumental architecture was employed in a landscaped, urban setting. The resulting widely acclaimed plan took root and subsequently led Congress to put city planning on a permanent footing by establishing the Commission of Fine Arts in 1910 and the National Capital Park Commission in 1924. The latter commission was succeeded two years later by the broader based National Capital Park and Planning Commission. ⁵⁰ At last, the capital had a new plan to follow in the twentieth century, one grounded on Pierre L'Enfant's century old plan but significantly modified to reflect growth and new ideas in urban planning.

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- 3. Jefferson to Commissioners, Jan. 15, 1793, Saul K. Padover, ed., *Thomas Jefferson and the National Capital* (Washington, 1946), 170.
- 4. Jefferson to L'Enfant, August 18, 1791; Padover, 63-64.
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- 15. *Ibid*.

- 16. Nathaniel Michler, Report of Brevet Brigadier General N. Michler, Major of Engineers, United States Army, in Charge of Public Buildings, Grounds, Works, &c. 40th Cong., 2d sess., 1867-1868, H. Ex. Docs. 1, serial 1325, 519.
- 17. Ibid., 537.
- 18. Ibid., 532.
- 19. Benjamin Gratz Brown, *A Public Park for the Capital*, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 1867-1868, H. Ex. Docs. 1, serial 1325, 543.
- 20. Annual Report of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia for the Year Ending June 30, 1879. (Washington, 1879). 46th Cong., 2d. sess., 1879-1880, H. Ex. Docs. 1, part 6, serial 1913, 8.
- 21. See De Benneville Randolph Keim, *Keim's Illustrated Hand-Book. Washington and Its Environs*. 13th ed. (Washington, D.C., 1879), 58-62; David C. Streatfield, "The Olmsteds and the Landscape of the Mall," in Richard Longstreth, ed., *The Mall in Washington*, *1791-1991*. (Hanover, N.H., 1991), 116-141, see especially 116-120; and, Pamela Scott, "Capitol Square, 1791-1873," *Capitol Square Cultural Landscape Report*, Vol.1 (Washington, D.C.: Architect of the Capitol and Vitetta, 2012).
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- 30. An examination of the view by the Conservation Office, Library of Congress in 1990, suggested that a lithographic image is printed under the paint layer. The printed image seems to be more of an outline, without shading, and is evident throughout the artifact.
- 31. "Report of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia on the Improvement of the Park System of the District of Columbia," in Charles Moore, ed. *The Improvement of the Park System of the District of Columbia* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1902), 7. For a full discussion of the Senate Park Commission and its plan see Reps, *Monumental Washington*, 92-154; Also see Thomas S. Hines, "The Imperial Mall: The City Beautiful Movement and the Washington Plan of 1901-1902," Jon A. Peterson, "The Mall, the McMillan Plan, and the Origins of American City Planning," and David C. Streatfield, "The Olmsteds and the Landscape of the Mall," in Longstreth, ed., *The Mall in Washington*, 1791-1991, 79-141.
- 32. Moore, ed. *The Improvement of the Park System*, 7.
- 33. Jon A. Peterson, "The Mall, the McMillan Plan, and the Origins of American City Planning," in Longstreth, ed., *The Mall in Washington*, 1791-1991, 103.
- 34. Moore, ed., The Improvement of the Park System, 39.
- 35. *Ibid*.
- 36. Ibid, 25.
- 37. Frederick Gutheim and Wilcomb E. Washburn, *The Federal City: Plans & Realities* (Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution Press, 1976). 33.
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- 39. *Ibid*.
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- 41. *Ibid.*, 29.

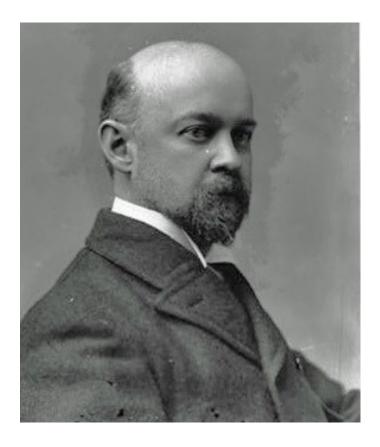
- 42. Ibid., 44-45.
- 43. *Ibid.*, 50.
- 44. *Ibid.*, 51.
- 45. *Ibid.*, 51-52.
- 46. Ibid., 69-71.
- 47. *Ibid.* see Appendix F, pp. 147-154 for a complete list of the items exhibited.
- 48. Reps, Washington on View, 141.
- 49. The original painting is in the Fine Arts Commission, Washington, D.C. Frequently reproduced, it first appeared in print as the foldout frontispiece to Charles Moore, ed., *The Improvement of the Park System of the District of Columbia* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1901-1902, S. Rept. 166, serial 4258.
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Map Figures

- Figure 1. Joshua Fry, *A map of the most inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole province of Maryland with part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina*, (London: Thos. Jefferys, [1755]), a detail depicting the site Congress chose to locate the Capital in 1790.
- Figure 2. Andrew Ellicott, [Territory of Columbia], (1793), the original boundary survey of the District of Columbia prepared by Ellicott and submitted to George Washington in February, 1793.
- Figure 3. Andrew Ellicott, *Territory of Columbia*, (Philadelphia: 1794), the published version of the boundary survey rotated to match the center meridian in response to Jefferson's directions.
- Figure 4. Pierre Charles L'Enfant, Computer-assisted reproduction of Pierre Charles L'Enfant's 1791 manuscript plan for the city of Washington, (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1991).
- Figure 5. Details of the 1991 L'Enfant facsimile showing Jefferson's manuscript corrections.
- Figure 6. Pierre Charles L'Enfant, *Plan of the City of Washington*, (Philadelphia:1792), engraved by Thackara and Vallance for the March 1792 issue of *The Universal Asylum, and Columbia Magazine*.
- Figure 7. Pierre Charles L'Enfant, *Plan of the city of Washington / [engraved by] Samuel. Hill,* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrew, 1792).
- Figure 8. The finely drawn Thackara and Vallance *Plan of the City of Washington in the Territory of Columbia*, which, upon Jefferson's insistence, included the soundings in the Potomac and Eastern Branch (now the Anacostia River) to make the land more valuable to merchants and potential buyers of lots along their shore lines.
- Figure 9. Robert King, A map of the city of Washington in the District of Columbia: established as the permanent seat of the government of the United States of America, (Washington: W. Cooper, 1818), the first printed map based upon actual field surveys, which remained the most comprehensive illustration of the city until the Civil War.
- Figure 10. Computer-assisted reproduction of L'Enfant's manuscript plan produced by the United States Geological Survey for the Library of Congress in 1991 for the bicentennial of the original.

- Figure 11. Casimir Bohn, *District of Columbia and the seat of war on the Potomac*, (Baltimore: E. Sachse & Co., ca. 1861), identifying fifteen Federal army units camped in the vicinity of Washington, D.C.
- Figure 12. J. G. Barnard, Map of the environs of Washington: compiled from Boschkes' map of the District of Columbia and from surveys of the U.S. Coast Survey showing the line of the defences of Washington as constructed during the war from 1861 to 1865 inclusive ..., (1865), which was based heavily on Albert Boschke's earlier topographical map of the District that was confiscated and suppressed early during the Civil War by federal authorities.
- Figure. 13. Nathaniel Michler, *Topographical Sketch o of the environs of Washington, D.C.*, (1901), Sheet No.1, which depicts several sites for a new presidential mansion.
- Figure 14. Sheet no. 2 of Brevet Brigadier General Nathaniel Michler's *Topographical Sketch* of the environs of Washington, D.C., which illustrates the topography of Rock Creek Valley.
- Figure 15. William J. Twinings, *Map of the city of Washington showing the plan for the recla-mation of the marshes on the Potomac River water front*, (1882), prompted by flooding in much of the city, including the Mall. The original manuscript resides in the National Archives in College Park, Maryland.
- Figure 16. Frederick Law Olmsted, *General Plan for the Improvement of the U.S. Capitol Grounds*, (1874). Courtesy of the Architect of the Capitol.
- Figure 17. Adolph Sachse's lithograph perspective, *The national capital, Washington, D.C.*, 1884, a panoramic view of the city of Washington.
- Figure 18. Griffith Morgan Hopkins, *A complete set of surveys and plats of properties in the city of Washington, District of Columbia,* (Philadelphia,: G.M. Hopkins, c1887), plate 27 illustrating Olmsted's "naturalistic" landscaping of the Capitol grounds.
- Figure 19. Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps of Washington, D.C., 1881, volume 1, page 14, prominently depicts the old Center Market on reservation 7, the current site of the National Archives building.
- Figure 20. Exhibit chart showing streets & avenues of the cities of Washington and Georgetown, improved under the Board of Public Works, D.C.: Nov. 1st 1873: sewers, (Washington: J.F. Gedney), 1873), an example of a series of special purpose maps produced by the Board since the Territory's creation in 1871.
- Figure 21. U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, *Survey of the District of Columbia*, (Washington: Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1892-1894), sheet 49 showing the town of Anacostia and the Anacostia Bridge.

- Figure 22. E. Kurtz Johnson, *Birdseye View of the National Capital Including the Site Proposed [for] World's Exposition of 1892 and Permanent Exposition of the Three Americas*, (Washington, D.C.: E. K. Johnson, c1888).
- Figure 23. John L. Trout, *View Looking North from the Anacostia*, (1901), a birds-eye view of Washington executed in opaque watercolors showing the city in minute detail.
- Figure 24. *The Mall*, 1901. This photocopy of a manuscript plan in the National Archives and Records Administration shows both existing and planned grounds and government buildings.
- Figure 25. Francis L.V. Hoppin, *Senate Park Commission rendering of the plan from a point* 4,000 feet above Arlington, (Washington: Senate Park Commission, 1902), Report No. 20. Courtesy of the Commission of Fine Arts.



The Philip Lee Phillips Map Society of the Library of Congress is named in honor of Philip Lee Phillips (1857-1924), the first Superintendent of Maps at the Library of Congress when the Hall of Maps and Charts was established in 1897.

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